# THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20505

National Intelligence Officers

22 November 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

VIA : Director, National Foreign Assessment Center

FROM : Robert C. Ames

National Intelligence Officer for the

Near East and South Asia

Acting National Intelligence Officer for Warning

SUBJECT : Proposed Alert Memorandum on Iran

- 1. Action Requested: DCI approval for production of an Alert Memorandum on Iran.
- 2. <u>Background</u>: The Shia Muslim holy month of Muharram is likely to bring an especially severe challenge to the military government in Iran. I believe it would be useful to our consumers to underscore with a Community publication:
  - a. The critical nature of the period around 11 December.
  - b. The key factors that will determine the direction events will go.
  - c. The likely near-term political ramifications if the Shah survives or does not survive.
- 3. I propose that this memorandum be drafted by NFAC's Iran Analytical Center. A suggested outline is attached (Tab A). This paper could be coordinated by the Community and issued on 30 November.

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## Proposed Outline of Alert Memorandum on Iran

### INTRODUCTION

Moharram -- especially severe challenge by 11 December Will be test of:

- -- Ability and determination of opposition
- -- Ability of military to keep order
- -- Morale and loyalty of military
- -- Shah's leadership

#### DISCUSSION

Factors Determining Outcome

Strength of Opposition Challenge

- -- Khomeini
- -- National Front
- -- Radical opposition, including Tudeh
- -- Disorganized opposition

Effort to Maintain Security

- -- Military/security capabilities
- -- Military loyalty

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## Lack of Political Options

- -- Tried appeasement, co-optation
- -- Resorted to martial law, military government
- -- Dual strategy seen as weakness

## Shah's leadership

- -- Inconstancy of mood and policy
- -- Possibility of more assertive leadership
- -- Possibility of abdication

#### Near-term Political Ramifications

#### If Shah Perseveres

- -- Extended military government
- -- Restored civilian government

#### If Shah Does Not Survive

- -- Military takeover
- -- Other outcomes

Likely Soviet Behavior

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